Something for Nothing—*Keith Hutchison*

THE *Nation*

November 5, 1949

Tito's Fifth International

I. The Other Cold War

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

✠

U. S. Steel's Tactics

BY MURRAY KEMPTON

✠

Notes for November 8 - - - - - - - - - *Robert Bendiner*

Architecture: The Humanistic View - - - *Talbot Hamlin*

How Britain Tests Loyalty - - - - - - *David C. Williams*

The Art of Mondrian - - - - - - - - - - *Weldon Kees*

The Week in the U. N. - - - - - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

JUST as we go to press, there are indications of a partial break in the steel strike. Though the reports are as yet unconfirmed, it appears likely that the Bethlehem and several other independent steel companies are prepared to settle with the union on the basis of non-contributory pension plans and contributory social-insurance plans. United States Steel is, at this writing, still holding out, and since Murray Kempton's article, page 439, deals mainly with Big Steel's intransigence, readers should find his analysis interesting, regardless of the situation prevailing when this issue reaches them.

AN ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE WEST GERMAN government of a new plan of reparations, offered as a substitute for the dismantling of German war plants, is expected this week. It is a victory for John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner, and a still greater victory for the German administration at Bonn and its chief, Chancellor Adenauer. On October 17, talking to the press in Frankfurt, the High Commissioner had already expressed the hope that the dismantling of factories would soon come to an end. Within two weeks the strenuous objections of the French and the milder disapproval of the British had been overruled and the position of the German authorities sustained. French newspapers published extensive stories about a luncheon meeting between McCloy and Adenauer the day before the American High Commissioner made his statement; several stressed the fact that Mrs. McCloy was a relative of the late Mrs. Adenauer. Thus the relief felt by the French when General Clay was relieved of his post and replaced by a civilian has been of very short duration. One witty French commentator said: "The difference is only that of a single letter [Cloy-Clay]; perhaps it was a misprint and we are in fact dealing with the same man!" With increasing concern France watches German steel production head toward new records. The level of 11,100,000 tons, officially set by Allied agreement, already has been exceeded by 3,000,000 tons and is increasing monthly. Merely by retaining the Thyssen factories the authorities will add 2,200,000 tons to the total. Pertinax recently observed: "To arm Germany, Hitler did not need so much." Although France has finally come out of its three weeks' crisis with the creation of the Bidault government, its satisfaction is dimmed by this new diplomatic defeat in Germany, a defeat that will be effectively exploited by De Gaulle.

*

ON ANY BASIS OF RECIPROCITY, RUSSIA HAS a right to exclude any American correspondents it happens not to like. The United States excludes most Russian correspondents and probably for much the same reasons. Just the same it was foolish of the Soviet Foreign Office to deny a reentry permit to Joseph Newman, Moscow representative of the New York *Herald Tribune*. And if the action was, as Mr. Newman asserts, part of a deliberate policy of forcing all Western newspapermen out of Russia, it is as stupid as the other policies that have been packaged under the label "iron curtain." Does the Soviet government really think that by limiting the outside world to such Russian news as its own official agencies grind out it will put an end to what it considers unfriendly and lying reports? The contrary is true. With even a few honest newspapermen in Russia, men like Newman himself, the exaggerated Hearstian reports of Soviet horrors and imminent breakdown are offset by factual stories, in so far as the Russian censor allows. Shut out the newsmen, and the world's reactionary press will have a field day. Propaganda from Soviet press offices will be dropped in the wastebasket; for a government-sponsored story is useful only if an independent reporter is on the spot to check it and fit it into its news background. The over-all result of a policy of exclusion is to create the impression that a country has so much to conceal that it cannot risk prying eyes or a truthful report. And this is an impression Moscow can less easily afford than the effect of many unfriendly dispatches.

*

THE CAMPAIGN TO SUBSTITUTE SOCIALISM for communism as "the great menace" in American politics, which began immediately after Governor Dewey's defeat in November, 1948, is being accelerated. Senator Taft, in *Collier's*, warns that "we've gone about as far as we can go" in the direction of the enervating welfare state. Speaking in Los Angeles, Representative Ralph W. Gwinn of New York somberly informed a luncheon group that "there are ten or twelve men in the House of Representatives who have concluded that the fight against socialism has been lost. The only hope is

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 433
Oh, Leave That Out! 434
Closing the Dollar Gap 435
Lehman for Senator 436

ARTICLES

Politics and People. Notes for November 8 *by Robert Bendiner* 437
U. S. Steel's Tactics *by Murray Kempton* 439
The Week in the U. N. *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 441
Tito's Fifth International: I. The Other Cold War *by Alexander Werth* 442
How Britain Tests Loyalty *by David C. Williams* 444
Everybody's Business. Something for Nothing *by Keith Hutchison* 446

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

A Deer Is Feeding. *A Poem* *by Mark Van Doren* 447
Architecture: The Humanistic View *by Talbot Hamlin* 447
Socialism, British Style *by Keith Hutchison* 447
California in 1849 *by Howard Doughty, Jr.* 448
Books in Brief 449
Art *by Weldon Kees* 450
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 451

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 335 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 452

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to take the issue back to the folks at home and to rally for another battle." Rear Admiral Leslie E. Gehres (ret.) believes that the threat of a Labor-Socialist government is a greater menace to the United States than are the Russians with their atom bomb. Then there is the national advertising program of the Institute of Life Insurance, in which rugged American workers are praised for having rejected all efforts of the welfare state to assist them. The high priests of "public relations" have spoken: the menace for 1950 is socialism.

*

NO ONE COULD BEGRUDGE ROGER BALDWIN a chance to shift his base of operations from the United States to the international field. For a good generation, as director and animating spirit of the American Civil Liberties Union, he has fought for the protection of constitutional rights in this country—and fought with no less zeal when the causes whose rights he defended were most bitterly attacked. Now he is retiring from his post to devote himself more exclusively to "the relation of the United States to the problems of international standards of civil liberties," a phase of the work that has engaged him more and more since the war's end. In this wider arena he will find plenty to do, as every page of every newspaper testifies, and we can only wish him the strength and optimism required for the task ahead. Meanwhile, however, the work of the A. C. L. U. must go on with undiminished energy. We are sure that Mr. Baldwin will keep a fatherly eye on the organization, so that it may continue to flourish and to carry on the fight in a period when human rights in America are more cheaply held than at any time since the dark days following World War I.

Oh, Leave That Out!

FATHER George H. Dunne, a liberal Roman Catholic priest, replied to Paul Blanshard's famous *Nation* articles in a series of articles printed in the Jesuit magazine *America* last June and July. These articles have now been collected in a booklet entitled "Religion and Democracy," published by the America Press under the imprimatur of Francis Cardinal Spellman. Our attention has been called to the fact that certain paragraphs from the original articles have been omitted from the pamphlet, and these we reproduce here:

> Nothing, of course, can be said in defense of the exploitation of relics, medals, and novenas for fund-raising purposes. Those who are guilty of these abuses easily rationalize them. The primary object is the encouragement of prayer and pious practices. The fund-raising is incidental and is, after all, for pious purposes.
>
> The rationalization is inadmissible. It is a re-

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flection of an age and a society in which money is king. However worthy the cause for which money is sought, its influence is bad. It can cause men to compromise ideals, water down the teachings of Christ, cultivate the rich, ignore the poor.

The trouble is that it is impossible to serve both God and Mammon, much less to enlist Mammon in the service of God. Those who attempt to do so, however much they may rationalize their position, inevitably wind up in the service of Mammon.

Personally I would be happier with a probably non-authentic relic of St. Anne, who, however little I know about her, was, whether that was her name or not, the Mother of the Mother of Christ. Although I do not go in much for relics, I should find the non-authentic relic of St. Anne a more comforting symbol than any of the substitutes mentioned above.

When Charlemagne, upon the theory that error has no rights against truth, invoked penal laws and the secular power of the state to suppress the erroneous beliefs of the Saxons and to impose upon them Christian truths, he was rebuked by Pope Adrian and by the famous monk Alcuin. Alcuin's words are worth recalling: "Men can be attracted, but not forced, to the faith. You may drive people to baptism, you won't move them one step closer to religion. For this reason those who preach the Gospel to the pagans should rely upon prudent and peaceful means, because the Lord knows the hearts He seeks and gives them comprehension. . . . If the sweet yoke and burden of Christ had been announced to these inflexible Saxons with as much perseverance as has been brought to the collection of imposts and the rigorous execution of laws punishing the least faults, perhaps they would not have a horror of baptism."

When criticism is stilled, there is cause for alarm. Silence is a sign that smug complacency has entrenched itself, and complacency is the prelude to decay and death, whether in literature or in life, in society or the state, in politics or economics, in the school or the church.

Our readers will remember that the Blanshard article most vigorously attacked by Roman Catholic spokesmen —the one on which the New York City Board of Superintendents ostensibly based its ban against *The Nation*—was a two-part essay on "Roman Catholic Science" (Relics, Saints, and Miracles, May 15, 1948, and Apparitions and Evolution, May 22, 1948). The selectivity of Cardinal Spellman is not to be weighed lightly; we leave our readers to draw their own conclusions.

Closing the Dollar Gap

IN SEEKING to fill the "dollar gap" and so end the dangerous drain on its reserves, Britain must both reduce imports from and increase exports to the United States and other hard-currency areas. Devaluation, which tends to inhibit imports and encourage exports, is one means to this end. But it must be accompanied by special measures to check internal prices and costs so that the stimulative effects of a cheaper pound on foreign sales are not dissipated.

The problem to which the British government has had to address itself, therefore, is the promotion of disinflation. Last week Prime Minister Attlee announced a new economy program designed to curb internal purchasing power and to keep it in balance with a prospective diminished supply of goods. The cuts proposed suggested careful surgery rather than crude butchery. On the one hand, no attempt was made to carve all the requisite savings out of the social services; on the other, there was no effort to meet the desires of left-wingers by slashing military expenditure to the bone.

Altogether, the savings add up to $784,000,000 or some 8½ per cent of the current budget. The largest reduction is in the government's investment program—$98,000,000 off housing, $294,000,000 off other capital outlays, including schools and hospitals. This undoubtedly was a painful decision, for Britain has still a long way to go before overtaking war-time arrears in construction of this kind. Another big item is a cut in general government expenditure of $280,000,000, which presumably will be attained by tightening administration and contracting or eliminating some state activities. De-

Two Items for a Point Four Agenda

1. **It Ain't Necessarily So.** An answer to William Vogt and the neo-Malthusians by EARL PARKER HANSON, author of "New Worlds Emerging." Dr. Hanson criticizes the scientists who insist on the preservation of a high standard of living, exclusively for those who already possess it.

2. **One Third of a World.** A look at the Problem of South America by B. MISHKIN, the distinguished anthropologist. In a remarkably fresh and frank manner Mr. Mishkin explores what he considers the basic myths which Americans, including liberals, have spun around the continent to the south and shows why we must adopt a new approach. This article is one of a series on the threat to democracy in Latin America.

In early issues of The Nation

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fense services, which account for about 25 per cent of the total budget, are to cost $84,000,000 less—a reduction which certainly seems rather meager. It is true that the disturbed state of the world has forced Britain to maintain larger military forces than before the war; on the other hand, the British "high brass," like our own, has yet to free itself of the money-no-object psychology which the war engendered.

Economies directly affecting the workers include a minor reduction in food subsidies which may lead to higher prices, particularly of fish. A small increase is to be made in the charge for school meals, and there is to be a standard fee of 14 cents for prescribed medicines, which under the national health scheme have hitherto been free. This is expected to bring in some $28,000,000 and also to relieve pressure on doctors, who at times have been called upon to see patients seeking prescriptions for, say, aspirin. The new charge will tend to check such abuses of the health service without encroaching seriously on the principle of free medical care.

It is interesting to note that the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* both found the Labor government's plans rather impressive: they were influenced, perhaps, by the contrasting fate of economy drives in Washington. In Britain Mr. Attlee's program was mercilessly attacked by Tories in Parliament and the press as "too little and too late." However, in the course of a two-day debate in the House of Commons the opposition spokesmen confined themselves to general criticism and carefully avoided advocacy of specific economies. One reason is that, with a general election in the offing, they must refrain from saying anything to confirm Labor's well-founded suspicion that a Tory government would attack the social services with an ax. Moreover, they are not agreed among themselves. For instance, some of the Tory newspapers have been plugging abolition of the draft as an economy measure, while Mr. Churchill remains adamantly opposed to any such move.

In spite of some evidence of dissension inside the Labor Party, the government had no difficulty in obtaining the vote of confidence it sought from the Commons. It should now, therefore, have a clear run of some months in which to reap the benefits of the economy program and devaluation. Whether these measures will, in fact, prove adequate in checking inflation and enlarging dollar exports it is hard to say. Reduction in government spending will tend to reduce money incomes, but it will not necessarily curb the use of purchasing power, for to some extent Britons have been offsetting falls in income, due to taxes, by drawing on their savings. In particular, the well-to-do have been maintaining high standards of expenditure out of capital, a practice encouraged by the fact that Britain has no capital-gains tax. It remains to be seen whether Sir Stafford Cripps will attempt to plug this loophole in his next budget. Meanwhile the recent slump on the London Stock Exchange may do something to discourage the wealthy from selling securities in order to purchase scarce goods.

Another problem for the government is to insure that man-power freed by its economy measures will move where it is most urgently needed. Undoubtedly full employment does make for some rigidity in the labor supply, although housing shortages may be an even more important factor. In any case some British industries are now overmanned, while others, including such important contributors to exports as pottery and textiles, are impeded by lack of labor. The question is how can the necessary transfers be achieved without resort either to industrial conscription or to the lever of unemployment. Much will depend on the ability of the Labor government to find the right answer.

Lehman for Senator

IF JOHN FOSTER DULLES had conducted the honest campaign he was expected to wage, we would still have urged our New York readers to vote for Herbert Lehman. We would perhaps have commended Mr. Dulles for a decent discussion of issues, but would have felt none the less that Lehman was vastly to be preferred for a seat in the Senate to one of the most overrated men in American public life.

The truth is that Dulles, far from earning his reputation as a penetrating analyst of international affairs, and an expert on foreign policy, displayed until very recently a remarkably poor insight into the workings of diplomacy. This "architect of our foreign policy," as he is being billed, announced in 1939: "There is no reason to believe that any totalitarian states, separately or collectively, would attempt to attack the United States.... Only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplate war upon us." He talked sympathetically in those days of the "dynamic peoples of Germany, Italy, and Japan ... determined to ... attain that enlarged status which, under a liberal and peaceful form of government, had been denied them." It was this same expert who a year later welcomed to these shores one Gerhardt Westrick, a special agent of the Führer, whose function was to discourage American business men from such hopeless nonsense as aiding the hard-pressed British. Even in the recent session of Congress, Senator Dulles's concern for the bi-partisan foreign policy gave way to an orthodox Republican's worship of the protective tariff. He supported the "peril-point amendment," which would have wrecked the reciprocal trade agreements, although on other occasions he has argued that the erection of customs barriers "strikes at the heart of anti-communism."

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On domestic matters the Dulles record is even dimmer from any liberal point of view. He has campaigned against federal aid to education, the proposed federal health program, and the Brannan plan, all as examples of the menacing "welfare state." Which raises the fair question whether any of the welfare legislation we have had since 1933 does not fall into this category, including social security, the minimum wage, rural electrification, and even flood control. Would the Senator repeal these approaches to "statism"? Taking into the Senate the views of a utilities lawyer, Dulles actively favored turning over to private corporations the electric power produced by publicly built dams. And he dropped his campaigning long enough to rush to Washington to take part in the shameful fight against the confirmation of Leland Olds to the Federal Power Commission.

Contrast the Dulles record with that of Lehman, one of the best vote-getters New York State has ever produced precisely because he is universally respected, able, and beyond the temptation to demagogy. Lehman's solid achievements as a four-term governor leave no question as to where he stands on the whole governmental concept of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. He was a pioneer in advancing the principle that both the state and the federal government had a duty to finance slum clearance and low-rent housing; he has been unfailing in his support of labor's right to bargain collectively on terms of equality with management; he is for federal aid to the schools; and while he has reservations on compulsory health insurance, his objections are far from his opponent's vapory rationalizations of an ingrained hostility to welfare legislation. In the field of foreign affairs no man can be held a neophyte who directed the far-flung activities of UNRRA with all the diplomacy and insight called for in an international program of such magnitude. That alone represents more experience in foreign affairs than all but a handful of Senators can boast.

On the basis of comparison, then, we have no hesitation in giving our support to Mr. Lehman. But the warmth of that support is greatly increased by virtue of the unconscionable campaign that Dulles has waged. He has appealed to racial prejudices ("If you could see the kind of people . . . voting for my opponent . . . "); he has appealed to extreme reaction ("if we don't check this thing [the welfare state] . . . and do it soon, we will have to fight our way back . . . through revolution"); and he has appealed to political passions by grossly attempting to link Lehman with the Communists. All this, as Robert Bendiner suggests in the following article, is deliberate party strategy. If it works against Lehman, it will be standard Republican practice in 1950, 1952, and indefinitely into the future. New Yorkers have an obligation not only to choose a Senator but to break a vicious pattern before it becomes fixed.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Notes for November 8

EVEN the most determined trend-spotter should find this month's balloting pretty poor pickings. Except for the Lehman-Dulles campaign in New York, a lone Congressional race in California, and a few scattered mayoralty contests, local issues are paramount or party lines are so hopelessly tangled that little basis is afforded for those broad generalizations that keep political commentators in bread and cheese. This being the case, it would seem to be more of a service to point out the individual contests of particular interest than to force a synthesis. Hence the disjointed nature of these comments.

California: The one vacancy to be filled in Congress is for this state's Fifth District, entirely within the city of San Francisco. This is the seat held for more than twenty years by the late Richard J. Welch, a Republican who rarely voted like one. The Democrats have put up John F. Shelley, former president of the California State Federation of Labor, who is campaigning on a straight Fair Deal program. Shelley was among those who made the good fight at Philadelphia in 1948, when some of his party's leaders wanted to soft-pedal the civil-rights issue. Against him is Lloyd Cosgrove, a Republican distinctly not of the Welch variety. A high Administration official describes this race, the New Jersey governorship, and New York's senatorial fight as the "three important tests of national political sentiment" in the year's elections.

Detroit: The remarkable show of labor-liberal strength in Michigan last fall which sent G. Mennen Williams to the governor's mansion is to be tested in the mayoralty run-off on November 8. George Edwards, national vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, one-time organizer for the Automobile Workers, and for four terms president of the city's Common Council, was expected to win in September's primary. He ran second in a field of eleven, however, with Albert E. Cobo, "the Board of Commerce candidate," well in the lead. Both C. I. O. and A. D. A. are counting on aroused labor voters to reverse that order in the run-off. Such upsets are common in Detroit's municipal elections, with the November showdown bringing out great batches of voters who were too apathetic to go to the polls in the September primary.

Buffalo: The mayoralty race here appears to overshadow the Lehman-Dulles fight for the Senate. For the first time in the city's history a major party has put up a candidate of Polish extraction, and the event prom-

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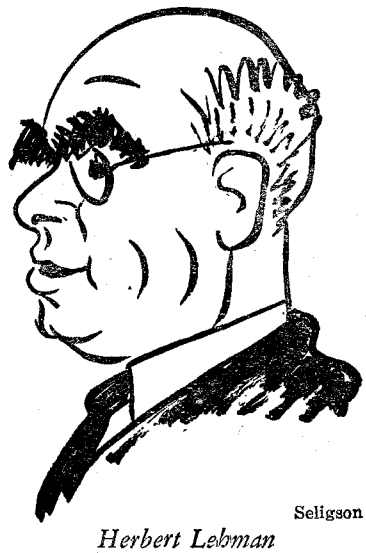
ises to upset the normal pattern of voting. The Polish vote, roughly a quarter of the total and largely Democratic, is expected to swing over to the Republican nominee, Joseph Mruk. The Democrats are counting on some of these voters to split their ballots, making the exception for Mruk but favoring the rest of the ticket, including Lehman. Whether or not they do so will depend in part on the extent to which Lehman's brush with Cardinal Spellman is still a sore point among this solidly Catholic contingent. A hopeful aspect for the Democrats is that their own mayoralty candidate, Judge John D. Hillery, is backed by the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee, an important factor in an industrial center like Buffalo. They are also counting on the Irish American voters, who are enthusiastic about Hillery, to offset the loss of the Poles.

Philadelphia: Here is one of the oddest and most colorful of the year's contests, if not quite of national importance. Richardson Dillworth and Joseph S. Clark, Jr., chairman and former chairman respectively of the city's A. D. A. chapter, are given an excellent chance of breaking the grip which the venal Republican machine has had on the city for generations. Running as Democratic candidates for Treasurer and Controller, Dillworth and Clark have put on a gay show, with costume parades, town criers to "wake up the citizenry," and campaign volunteers giving City Hall a prophetic going over with brooms. Unused to such effective opposition, Republican city leader William F. Meade has made the A. D. A. the chief issue, and takes to the radio nightly to brand its members Communist. For charging that the organization is "Communist-infiltrated" Meade faces a $100,000 libel suit which may provide excitement for Philadelphians whether or not the A. D. A. achieves the historic objective of smashing a venerable organ of corruption.

Boston: The point of interest here is whether the aging James M. Curley will at last follow the Crumps, the Hagues, and the Pendergasts into the shade. There appears to be a better than even chance that one of four other candidates, none of them exciting, will oust the man who perennially serves as Mayor of Boston when he is not in jail.

New Jersey: What gives interest to the otherwise drab battle between Alfred E. Driscoll, the Republican governor, and Elmer H. Wene, the Democrat who would like to unseat him, is the attempt of Frank Hague to stage a comeback. It may be true, as Hague says, that "Hagueism" has been the Republican cry in Jersey for the past thirty-five years, but the peculiar crossing of lines in this campaign gives the issue substance. The State Federation of Labor has indorsed Wene, but C. I. O.–P. A. C. will have no part in the fight, regarding Wene as negative, inept, and too obligated to Hague, and Driscoll as a fundamentally decent man at the mercy of a Republican machine he can't hope to beat.

Within the two parties there is similar division. The Old Guard Republicans are suspicious of Driscoll. The "Pro-Americans," an organization far enough over on the right to favor such noisome characters as Merwin K. Hart and Gerald Smith—but not too far right for Republican ex-Senator Hawkes—have arranged a meeting to be addressed by Democratic Senator Byrd, who urges the election of Wene. On the other hand, Charles Edison, former Democratic governor, is so repelled by the threat of a Hague upsurge that he has openly indorsed Driscoll. It is significant that Mayor Kenny of Jersey City, the man who finally routed the Hague machine at the polls, is being accused of secretly backing the incumbent. And it is worth noting that Wene has chosen as his campaign manager A. Harry Moore, who as a United States Senator voted against the social-security program because "pensions would rob old age of romance."



Seligson

Herbert Lehman

Just to add to the confusion, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Newark is engaged in a circular campaign for Wene's election on the ground that he favors a referendum on legalizing bingo, a popular device with the church for raising funds.

New York: By all odds the big event of the November sweepstakes is the Dulles-Lehman contest, which I list at the end only because considerable space has already been given to it in these columns. The remarkably low campaign waged by Dulles, the appeals to bigotry and the cheap attempts to link Lehman with the Communists, raises some interesting questions. Was this approach—so startlingly different from the pompous, empty, but nevertheless clean campaign waged by Dewey last year—the Governor's own experiment? Or has Dewey merely gone along with a new policy laid down by Guy Gabrielson, the G. O. P.'s new national chairman? Some light is thrown on this matter by Walter S. Hallanan, national committeeman from West Virginia, who has let it be known that at a committee meeting in August the party "abandoned its half-baked 'me-too' position that carried it down to several successive defeats." What Hallanan chooses to forget is that wherever lesser candidates, like Revercomb in his own state, took to open reaction and bare-knuckle campaigning, they were beaten even more soundly than the head of

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the ticket. In any case, Dulles has lent himself to a sordid game, and his political reputation has suffered deservedly.

If Vito Marcantonio, American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York, really wanted to help Lehman, as Dulles says, he would give the widest publicity to what he has been telling his followers quietly: "Vote the C-line. Period." That means vote for A. L. P. candidates only, and ignore the Senatorial fight entirely. If his supporters follow that advice, Lehman should lose up to a quarter of a million votes that would normally be his, but if word of Marcantonio's injunction got around the state, Dulles might be made to look foolish enough for Lehman's city loss to prove worth while. Marcantonio is expected to poll a good vote, thanks to a personal machine that has been the envy of many a Tammany boss, but trouble is brewing in his own party. So far has Communist sectarianism come to dominate A. L. P. councils that seats on its New York County Committee were recently denied even to such outstanding Wallace followers as Mary Van Kleeck, O. John Rogge, and Eugene Connolly.

As for the mayoralty fight between Newbold Morris and William O'Dwyer, it is hard for me to see that New Yorkers will go far wrong either way, though on balance I favor Morris. Party lines are even more tangled here than in the New Jersey battle, as I have attempted to show in earlier reports on the campaign. Whatever Wall Street money is available to the G. O. P. is going to Dulles, not Morris, whose campaign has been local, liberal, and of no encouragement whatever to the Gabrielson-Hallanan movement to save the Republican Party through tory principles in office and no principles at all in election campaigns.

NOTE ON THE TEACHERS' UNION

In this column for October 15 I wrote that "in the New York local of the Teachers' Union the pro-Communists are openly demanding a split from the C. I. O." The statement was made on what I believed to be good authority, and it squared with the apparent attitude of Communists and pro-Communists elsewhere only a few weeks earlier. Nevertheless, the statement should have been verified, and I regret that it wasn't. In any event it is categorically denied by officials of the union, and I am glad to report their denial.

U. S. Steel's Tactics

BY MURRAY KEMPTON

Cleveland, October 30

THE war in steel is an attempt at industrial counter-revolution. The steel industry recognizes that union strength in the steel towns is too solid to be broken outright; it can hope to weaken the steel workers' union only by the long process of economic attrition. At present it can win nothing more than the acceptance of employee responsibility for a share in the cost of pensions, but this will represent a check to the steady progress of industrial democracy in steel that has continued for a decade. It is therefore far more important to the steel companies than the ten-cents-an-hour cost of the disputed health and welfare plan.

The present technique of the employers differs from the devices to destroy unionism used by Elbert Gary only in its subtlety, its abandonment of overt violence. Its first visible effect is to make the fifth week of the steel strike a monumental bore to the headline writers. By apparently common consent, the companies have not tried to initiate back-to-work movements.

Only a tiny fraction of the union's membership even bothers to picket. This war is being fought in the kitchen; the companies plainly hope to win through hunger the victories that once came to them by force of propaganda, espionage, the black list, and the cooperation of venal public officials. United States Steel has even renounced a contest with Philip Murray for the souls of the workers. A few companies have made some attempt to relay to their employees their claim of principled opposition to company-financed pensions; but Philip Murray only had to stand on a platform and read off the salaries and company-financed pensions of the major steel executives for these feeble overtures to be laughed down in the barrooms and union halls.

As in Gary's day, United States Steel dominates the industry to such an extent that its decisions set the policies of the thirty-six other corporations whose employees are now on strike. Just before the strike began, Philip Murray's assistants had a demonstration of Big Steel's sway. A Western steel company, one of the industry's nineteen largest, told them that it was ready to settle on union terms. Then, as the deadline approached, its negotiators reneged for reasons that one of them later described as "industry policy." C. I. O. negotiators have reported other cases of employers who justified their recalcitrance with genuflections toward the leader of their industry. Their respect is explained by the pre-

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vailing belief that if a company wants bank loans and raw steel, it shouldn't get into Big Steel's bad books.

Even United States Steel is not a united front. For the past three months there have been steady reports that Benjamin Fairless and other production executives were in violent dispute with the banking interests responsible for the company's financing. Fairless was said to have supported an agreement with Murray and been defeated in the board rooms. Whatever Big Steel's internal fissures, there is no doubt that its most important single policy-maker is Enders Voorhees, chairman of its Finance Committee. Voorhees has spoken out forcefully against the principle of company-financed employee pensions—as a man who will retire with a $50,000 non-contributory pension he is a good example of the sincerity of Big Steel's adherence to that principle. By the arrogance of his utterances he has emerged as the closest thing to Tom Girdler to appear in this particular steel crisis.

Voorhees sits in United States Steel's councils as representative of the Morgan interests, the largest financial group in the corporation. In a very real sense, then, Philip Murray fights today against Wall Street and the Morgan firm, whose power supports the steel industry's resistance. The House of Morgan has always determined Big Steel's ultimate decisions. Gary was a blustery character who carried himself like an old puddler, but one of his historians observed that he never saw a blast furnace until after he died.

THE steel union is fighting for a sane national economic policy. Murray originally demanded a package increase of 30 cents an hour—6 cents for health insurance, 11.3 cents for pensions, and 12.5 cents for wages. The case for higher wages was based on a special report prepared for the C. I. O. by Robert R. Nathan. Nathan found, in sum, that the country's post-war prosperity had finally come to an end, and that it could be revived only by increasing purchasing power through higher wages and curtailed profits. Nathan claimed that steel profits were so high that the industry could break even at 30 per cent of capacity, and that there was therefore no incentive for steel to produce at capacity. Murray told friends last summer that one of his major aims in the campaign for higher wages was to eliminate all chance of a situation in which the country would have ten million unemployed and the steel industry would still be making a profit.

The steel union argued its case before a fact-finding board appointed by the President. Carroll R. Daugherty, the board's chairman, wrote a long footnote to its recommendations in which he quarreled politely with Nathan's economics and threw out everything Murray had demanded except the 10 cents for pensions and health insurance. But even Daugherty's board, conservative though it was, put steel on its good behavior. While it said that under present conditions profits were not excessively high and that any wage increase would produce economic instability, it added: "It is to be expected that the modernization and expansion of steel-making capacity will substantially lower costs and thereby increase profits considerably, given no decrease in the demand for steel. If and when that development occurs, the consumers of this country will receive measurable benefit in the form of lower prices for steel products." Last year the steel industry made a profit of $623,900,000, with no indication that it might reduce prices. For the first quarter of this year steel profits showed a 30 per cent increase over last year's figure. United States Steel's profits in the last three months, despite reduced production and the onset of the strike, are well ahead of the same period last year.

Murray had his private quarrel with the economics of the steel board, but he accepted its findings. Most conservative opinion was so bedazzled by the projected halt to the wage-increase pattern that it hailed the fact-finding report as a major act of statesmanship. Then the steel industry set up its cry that the board had recommended that the companies pay the full cost of pensions and had thus opened the door to a revolutionary doctrine. The major steel producers, who almost without exception pay their officers whacking non-contributory pensions, made the principle of employee-participation their sticking point. Since Murray could retreat no farther, the present strike was inevitable.

Murray and the men around him are convinced that the industry invited this showdown. During the last hours of the pre-strike talks the United States Steel negotiators acted like men with no room to maneuver, and not one of the several compromises advanced publicly by independent men of good-will ever got to the bargaining table. Steel's bargainers, according to the C. I. O. men present, were allowed to show no real disposition to settle.

So far as could be learned as the strike ended its fifth week, the disposition to bargain had still not entered the protracted and futile talks presided over by Federal Conciliator Cyrus Ching. But Murray is sure the union will eventually be victorious. A close associate of his said last week, "If we can't win this strike, we can't ever win one."

However, once this strike is over, the union's exhaustion and the economic losses of its members may make it incapable of winning any other in the near future. That may be the real aim of the companies in continuing their resistance. Fortunately, the effect of a defeat for the employers is usually to limit their aggressions for a year or more. If the steel industry loses this particular encounter, it may lose the initiative for some time.

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The Week in the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, October 29

THE week began festively with the laying of the cornerstone of the new United Nations headquarters. President Truman took advantage of the opportunity by making a speech which paid homage to the defunct Baruch plan. The plan in its present form is undeniably dead. An autopsy was performed some weeks ago, not in *Pravda,* but in the New York *Herald Tribune*, by the American commentator Walter Lippmann, who pointed out that a plan which was rejected by the Russians before they had the bomb would have even less chance of acceptance today. Yesterday's announcement of the failure of the secret discussions held by the six permanent members of the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission simply showed that the commission had been brought to the predicted impasse by the majority's obstinate refusal to recognize that the problem had been entirely changed by Russia's possession of the atomic bomb.

Old habitués of the League of Nations who attended the cornerstone ceremonies were interested by a small matter of protocol. The secretary general of the League never thought of going to the railroad station or the airfield to welcome an illustrious visitor. He sent his chief of protocol and awaited king or president on his own "territory." It was a way of underlining the sovereignty of the organization. When Trygve Lie broke with the traditions of Geneva and went to meet President Truman at the Pennsylvania Station instead of receiving him at the new U. N. headquarters in Manhattan, one got the impression that in certain official circles no distinction is made between the United Nations and the United States; the United Nations headquarters are thought of as part of New York City, like Rockefeller Center. Such an impression is reinforced by the attitude of the United States in both the Assembly and the Security Council. The Americans often act as if they were the masters as well as the hosts of the international organization.

The brief session of the Security Council on the following day did little to enhance the authority of the United Nations. The Council met to discuss the demilitarization of Jerusalem, but after it had listened to the Egyptian representative, who had asked that the matter be taken up, it decided that for the moment no further discussion and no action were necessary. For the sake of the Council's prestige some way should be found to avoid these "matinées"; at their end the audience leaves with no understanding of what has been going on.

It is not expected that the question of Palestine will be discussed in any other body of the U. N. until after the elections have taken place on November 8. This procedure is the result of the desire of the American delegation not to open a debate on the controversial Jerusalem issue at a time when the expression of American public opinion might have a marked effect on the attitude of the United States government.

What the final attitude will be no one seems to know. Certainly the United States is a co-sponsor of the U. N. Conciliation Commission's proposals. But the proposals are not a reflection of what, as far back as the Paris session of the Assembly, was the more realistic understanding of the United States government, namely, that internationalization had become obsolete since 1947, when it was first proposed. The question foremost in the thinking of many delegates is this: What is behind American espousal of the Conciliation Commission's proposals? In many circles it is suspected that the real point is not Jerusalem but concessions to be extracted in other areas by using the Jerusalem issue as leverage.

One thing is certain. The controversy, however real it may be in the international arena, could be reduced to its proper proportions were Israelis and Arabs permitted, as the two peoples concerned, to decide the issue themselves.

After three weeks of heated controversy the subcommittee of the Assembly's Political Committee failed to find a satisfactory solution of the question of the former Italian colonies in northern and eastern Africa. The unanimity previously obtained on Libya, for which the subcommittee recommends independence by January 1, 1952, and on Somaliland, for which it proposes independence after ten years, with Italy as administering power during the period of U. N. trusteeship, broke down in the case of Eritrea. A Russian proposal to extend it full independence was overwhelmingly rejected.

The discussion proved once more that the colonial powers, while assuring the native populations of their profound belief in independence, are actually thinking almost exclusively of strategic values. This was frankly admitted by the London *Times* in a recent editorial: "It would be absurd to pretend that we are entirely disinterested; the British government has already reestablished its position in Cyrenaica." Libya, of course, was different; England felt sure that this weak and backward country would remain for all practical military purposes under British control. Somaliland is of scant value and, besides, lies in an area where British influence has always predominated. It was in Eritrea that the "pro-independence" position of the Western powers met

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its test. Counting upon annexing part of this area to the Egyptian Sudan, Britain was not disposed to sacrifice its strategic interests to the luxury of appearing at Lake Success as the champion of native independence. The American delegation, previously expected to favor Eritrean independence, sided finally with the British. What price the British paid nobody knows; some European commentators said that it was the devaluation of the pound.

All these combinations and deals among the powers could not obscure the impression that colonialism was dying. Even those who fight to retain their power do so as if ashamed of themselves, foreseeing ultimate defeat. With the Dutch regime tottering in Indonesia and the Chinese Communist armies advancing toward the very border of Indo-China, contagion is unavoidable; the hour of full awakening in Africa cannot much longer be delayed.

Tito's Fifth International

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

I. The Other Cold War

Belgrade, October 20

THE more one sees of this astonishing country, the more one feels that its political ideas are the most important factor in current international relations. The Yugoslav "heresy" is certainly a more dangerous challenge to Soviet communism than all the talk in Western countries about refrigerators in every home and "a car for every worker." The refrigerator argument is easy to answer, but when Tito says, "Something in the Soviet Union has degenerated, and has become so distorted that it is almost unbelievable," Moscow must make a serious effort to prove him wrong. When Pijade draws attention to the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has had no congress for over ten years and that the rank and file has less control than in any other Communist party, when he says that anyone is considered "fascist or Trotskyist who does not subscribe to the Kremlin's papal infallibility," when day after day the Yugoslav press shows that the Russians tend to treat Hungary and Rumania as "colonial" territories—as they tried to do with Yugoslavia—and that even the "hirelings" like Rakosi secretly complain of it, then one expects Moscow to take up the argument on the same ideological level and deny the charges point by point. These are only a few of the incredibly damaging accusations made by Yugoslavia against the policies of the Soviet government and the Soviet Communist Party. Russia's ferocious campaign against Yugoslavia is said to violate the assurances given by Stalin, Molotov, and others about the rights of small nations; Russia is not acting or thinking internationally; the *Gleichschaltung* of Rumania, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia is first and foremost determined by the requirements of the Soviet Union; the Greek Partisans have been the object of a Soviet-American deal just as were the Slovenes of southern Carinthia—not, by the way, a very good example.

What happened in Greece is something of a mystery. Under Markos the Greek guerrillas conducted an effective mobile war, after the manner of the Yugoslav Partisans, but new methods were adopted when Zachariades, a man of the Kremlin, took over. According to the latest information one of the three Greek guerrilla divisions, fighting near the Albanian border and using the new, unsuitable methods of static warfare, was thrown to the wolves and the other two were ordered by Zachariades to withdraw into Albania. Now it has been announced that guerrilla activity has ceased. Whether the Yugoslavs, at heart, care very much for the Greek Partisans—most of whom, after all, were brought up in the Cominform persuasion—may be doubted, but they have certainly used their fate as an effective demonstration of Russian political opportunism. The theory is that the Russians are selling out the Greeks to the United States for a price.

As to the Rajk trial, the Yugoslavs say that it will be followed before long by the trial of Kostov in Bulgaria, and that there will probably be a similar trial in Czechoslovakia and another in Rumania. The purpose of them all will be to prove that Yugoslavia has been plotting against the existing order in these countries and against the unity of the Soviet bloc. Addressing public opinion in the Eastern countries even more than in the West, Tito announced that all the confessions of Rajk and the rest were lies, extracted by what methods he did not know (or does he, and will he spill the beans later?) but which, in any case, were "monstrous." Then he added something that from the Moscow point of view must be even more unforgivable. Trotskyism, he said, was admittedly a harmful doctrine, but many good and true Communists had been put to death on the false

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accusation of being Trotskyists. No doubt he had in mind some of the Russians who fought in Spain side by side with men who have since risen to power in Yugoslavia.

ALL this no doubt is making all the anti-Bolshies in the world hoot with joy. Tito is well aware that he is "playing into the hands of the reactionaries"—who, he said, were no better than the Russians—but he had to tell the truth, he said, to protect Yugoslavia. It is quite clear that the Yugoslav leaders, especially since the beginning of the Rajk trial, have moved heaven and earth to give "world significance" to the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, to prevent it from becoming localized, and have used every possible means to keep it on the front page of every newspaper in the world. There was a time, about a month ago, when they seemed slightly scared that the Russians might really try to pull off a "Munich"; a good deal of alarmist talk on such lines could be heard among foreign diplomats in Belgrade, and I even had the impression that certain Yugoslav "contacts" were encouraged to stimulate these ideas—certainly none of the foreign correspondents in Belgrade were in any way discouraged from sending out the most ominous stories.

The Russians one met in Belgrade at that time were in a very morose mood; the Yugoslav leaders, they said, were deliberately creating a war psychosis in the country. They admitted, however, that a "cold war" with Yugoslavia was in full swing: in the end, of course, the Soviet Union would win it, "but we are not in a hurry," "time is on our side," and so on. As the Russians one saw grew more and more surly, one felt they were at a loss how to answer the Yugoslav charges. An exception was the one who burst out at me with: "Djilas is an ignoramus. He should have read Lenin's 'State and Revolution.' Have *you* read it?" I replied, rather feebly, that I had. On such and such a page, he continued, was a passage which Djilas should copy out and read every night. Then he would know more than to talk about the colonial exploitation of Yugoslavia, the surplus value that went into the Soviets' pockets, and the like. There could be no equality between an advanced industrial nation like the Soviet Union and a backward one like Yugoslavia. "They expect complete leveling. No, my friend, the Stakhanov principle applies to states as well as to individuals." This was the only time I heard a Russian trying to refute the Yugoslav charges with an ideological argument.

As I look back, I realize how inevitable was the conflict between the Russians and the Yugoslavs. In their letter of April 13, 1948, to Stalin and Molotov, Tito and Kardelj wrote:

> It is hard for us to understand how such heavy accusations can be made against us without the source of your information being quoted. . . . Our leading officials are also charged with repeating statements which Trotsky once made. Here are some of the alleged remarks we are supposed to have made: "The Soviet Communist Party is degenerating." "The U. S. S. R. is trying to capture Yugoslavia economically." "The U. S. S. R. is dominated by great-power chauvinism." "The Cominform is merely a weapon with which the Soviet Communist Party is trying to capture and control other Communist parties."

At that time Tito and Kardelj pleaded not guilty to saying anything of the sort. But today one finds Tito and Pijade and the *Borba* editorials making precisely these accusations.

After the Cominform resolution the Yugoslavs tried to put the blame for all the trouble on Rakosi and other Soviet stooges, and then proceeded to treat them as if they were independent of the Soviet Communist Party. Doubtless they hoped by this course, and by paying lip-service to the genius of Stalin, to leave a door open for a reconciliation with Russia. But they cannot have had many illusions on that score. The conflict with Russia went a long way back. I remember that in 1945, at the time of Tito's visit to Moscow, Ralph Parker, who had better Russian contacts than any other correspondent, said to me, "You know, Stalin does not like Tito." Then, with a knowing look, he changed the subject. What also struck some Russians at the time as a bit peculiar—though no great importance was attached to it—was that Tito seemed to get much less publicity in the Soviet press than other leading Communists abroad, and that although he finally did receive the highest Russian war decoration, the Order of Victory, he was so honored only *after* King Michael of Rumania.

NATIONAL Communism, or Titoism, or whatever name one calls it, is not regarded by the Yugoslavs as something peculiar to themselves, though it has had a greater development in their country than elsewhere. In their view its spread to other countries is practically inevitable, since Russia—the Yugoslavs go out of their way to demonstrate this—is not at all international-minded but on the contrary is ultra-chauvinistic and cannot therefore claim to be the fountain-head of an internationalist ideology. The Yugoslavs say, and probably sincerely believe, that the other Eastern countries are deeply envious of Yugoslavia because it alone has succeeded in saving its independence. In all the satellites, they say, there is a growing revolt against "enslavement by Moscow," and only by revising its foreign policy completely can Moscow hope to preserve its moral authority over them. A reflection one often hears in Belgrade is: "We don't have to worry about a Cominform underground; the thing is *unnatural*. But Moscow will have to worry about the rapid growth of anti-Com-

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inform undergrounds all over Eastern Europe; they are *natural.*"

According to the Yugoslavs, the Communist parties of all the other Eastern countries are riddled with doubters who find it impossible to agree completely with the Russian line. Even the most blatant "hirelings" like Rakosi are unhappily "conscious of working against the interests of their own country," and although no one could be more loyal to Moscow than Dimitrov was, he died a broken man. The Yugoslavs actually go so far now as to claim that Titoism stands for economic prosperity, working-class enthusiasm, and an orderly agriculture, while a country like Bulgaria or Hungary is teeming with discontent and getting into a worse and worse state of economic chaos. Hence the witch trials and the rest. What is interesting about this is that Yugoslavia is setting itself up as a beacon for all the malcontents in Eastern Europe, whether political or economic. It is trying to embarrass the Russians on all fronts, and when it talks of working-class discontent in the people's democracies, it is touching on a subject which has, at any rate, propaganda possibilities. It is hitting hard, and if most of the propaganda will not reach Czech, Polish, and Rumanian ears, some will. The Yugoslavs are pretty confident that the Russians have got themselves into a jam.

How Britain Tests Loyalty

BY DAVID C. WILLIAMS

London, October 24

THE American government is not the only one which has the problem of how to deal with groups of citizens bound by allegiances transcending their loyalty to their own country. Even in proverbially tolerant Britain this problem has presented itself; it was, in fact, the subject of a formal statement in Parliament by Prime Minister Attlee as long ago as March 15, 1948. "The Government," he said, "have reached the conclusion that the only prudent course is to insure that no one who is known to be a member of the Communist Party, or to be associated with it in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his or her reliability, is employed in connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the state. The same rule will govern those who are known to be actively associated with fascist organizations."

The policy laid down by Mr. Attlee was accepted as a painful necessity. It conflicted with the ingrained British regard for individual rights and the general desire to keep politics out of the Civil Service, but the state of the world and the progress of the cold war required it. The contention that Communists in the Civil Service were above suspicion was refuted by the well-known fact that in 1942 the secretary of the London Communist Party had been sentenced to prison for procuring state documents from a Communist civil servant.

But Britain's "purge" has been conducted by methods which according to Washington standards seem mild indeed. Mr. Attlee made it clear that the accused would be given every opportunity to clear themselves and if unable to do so would be transferred to other jobs of the same grade and pay; only if no other job could be found for them would they be dismissed. Investigations appear to be mainly conducted by a branch of the Military Intelligence service known as M. I. 5. Charges have been brought against about 60 civil servants out of some 100,000 whose jobs have been defined as having security significance. The rest have been subjected to no loyalty check whatever, although some may have been aware of discreet inquiries concerning them.

Rather more than a third of the persons accused have chosen not to contest the charges. The others have appealed to a tribunal set up for the purpose, consisting of two retired civil servants and one retired official of a union which serves government employees. About half of these—that is, something like a third of those originally accused—have been cleared and reinstated in their posts. Of those who did not contest the charges, or whose appeals to the tribunal were unsuccessful, twenty have been transferred to other jobs, a few have resigned, and others are still awaiting transfer, meanwhile drawing full basic pay. No one has been dismissed, although a few persons may have to be if, after diligent search, no equivalent post without security significance can be found. The persons transferred do not seem to have suffered. Some have actually had their pay increased, and at least one has been promoted to a higher grade.

In practically all the cases communism or association with Communists was the charge. So far as can be determined, only one fascist has been involved. There appears to be no sinister significance in this fact. Fascists in Britain are even fewer than Communists, and being less intelligent are less likely to be found in the Civil Service. Communism, on the other hand, appears to have a strong appeal for politically conscious natural scientists, who constitute some of the most awkward cases.

Interest in the purge seems now to be confined largely

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to organizations representing the civil servants themselves. Six of these, with a total of 240,000 members in government work, have banded together in the Civil Service Political Freedom Committee to oppose the purge root and branch. The others view it as a necessary evil but join the committee in protesting against any specific action they consider unjust. The committee is pushing its attack along four lines. It claims first that the purge has not been limited, as promised, to persons engaged in secret work; second, that the pledge to inform accused persons of the evidence against them has not been kept; third, that the check on political beliefs is spreading to private fields of employment; and fourth, that a year and a half's experience with the purge has provided ample reason for calling it off.

UNDER the first count the committee complains of the extension of the purge to entire departments, as for example Service Ministries and the Foreign Office. It naturally wants to bring as few posts as possible under the ruling, whereas the authorities just as naturally want to take no chances, and tend to include every post with any imaginable bearing on security. Actually, for the lower grades of civil servants the closing of a whole department to persons of doubtful reliability may be an advantage. Virtually all avenues to promotion would be barred, for example, to a Communist clerk in the War Office. Transferred to some innocuous department of government, he would have much better prospects. For high-ranking civil servants, and particularly scientific specialists, the difficulty is much greater, and it is they who most resent the blocking off of entire departments and establishments.

The charge that accused persons are not told of the evidence against them appears to have considerable substance. The Prime Minister has now circularized all departments to the effect that, subject to the overriding needs of security, tangible evidence of their unsuitability must be given to accused civil servants. Their organizations, however, are not yet satisfied.

The fear that the purge is spreading to private fields of employment is without much basis in fact. To a limited extent it is bound to do so: the regulation must be enforced, for example, by private contractors engaged in government work in which security is involved. But when a leading London department store, through its company union, tried to ban Communists from employment, the action was condemned by the government and by the leaders of all political parties. There seems to be a general determination to restrict the purge to the security sphere. It has not even been suggested that Communists are unfit to teach.

To reinforce its demand that the purge be called off and reliance placed on normal Civil Service disciplinary machinery and on the Official Secrets Act, the Political Freedom Committee said: "No one will have any sympathy with a person who in fact behaves improperly. Everyone must have sympathy with a person who is simply made the victim of nervous apprehension." This strikes many people as an avoidance of the very problems which the existence of communism and fascism presents to democratic governments. References to the "probity" and "loyalty" of the individuals involved are not, strictly speaking, relevant. In the case of communism one is dealing with the risk of treason performed not for pay but from the very highest of motives, the alleged future welfare of the human race. Loyalty to the traditions of the Civil Service and to Britain may exist, yet be overriden by a supernational loyalty.

Privately, leading members of the committee are willing to concede that the problem is by no means so simple as they have portrayed it. One of them said to me: "Whenever the Civil Service has found that an employee handling money was in private financial difficulties, it has always transferred him to another post. No reason was ever given, and there was no imputation that the person concerned would actually resort to peculation. He was simply moved out of temptation's way. Why not do the same with Communists and fascists, without this cumbersome machinery of the purge?" In effect he was proposing that the formal purge be dropped and its purpose accomplished in private and informal fashion.

Some obvious difficulties at once suggest themselves. Consider, for instance, the score of people who were accused but later cleared of all charges. Under the "informal-purge" procedure they might never have known what hit them. And the imputation of guilt would probably have accompanied their whole Civil Service career, affecting their prospects without their knowledge. From the government's point of view, dropping the formal purge procedure would mean giving up the right to dismiss a person for Communist or fascist party membership or associations; it might be impossible to get rid of someone whose qualifications restricted him to a narrow range of positions all of which were highly confidential. On the other side, it is argued that in cases of this sort, which would certainly be rare, the person concerned could be carefully watched.

All in all, an informal purge seems even less satisfactory than the present formal one. In fact, no really satisfactory line of action presents itself. Dedicated to the protection of the rights of the individual, a democratic government has to deal with groups which exploit these rights in order to destroy the government. The dilemmas that arise seem incapable of any perfect solution. The need of a reliable Civil Service, however, cannot be compromised, and I feel that the British government, by its current limited purge, has chosen the least unsatisfactory line of action.

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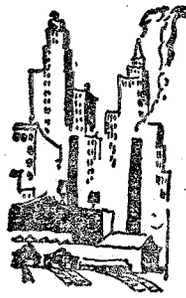

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Something for Nothing

WE ARE often told that the present emphasis on security indicates a general weakening of the moral fiber of the nation. While the old breed of Americans built their own security by thrift and enterprise, disdaining to "lean on the state," the present generation, it is said, looks to the government for protection from such hazards as unemployment and old age. "Something for nothing," the economic moralists complain, has become the slogan of a large part of the population.

Needless to say, I do not agree with this view. It seems to me that the average man (or woman) who works hard for forty years or so contributes a good deal more to society than he takes from it. The fruits of his labor provide not only for his consumption but for the rearing and education of the young and for constant additions to the capital resources of the country. Whether or not he makes a direct monetary contribution to the cost of a pension, he has in fact earned the right to decent maintenance when he retires.

Surely the real "something-for-nothing" boys are those who without working seek to appropriate the surplus wealth created by the labor of others—for instance, the heroes of the Wall Street sagas who contrive by stock-trading to convert a shoestring into millions. We do not hear so much about the exploits of these rugged individualists now, but this week is a good moment to recall their heyday, which came to a sudden end just twenty years ago.

It was on October 24, 1929, that the greatest securities boom in history collapsed with a crash whose echoes have not yet entirely faded. That was "Black Thursday," when the turnover of the New York Stock Exchange reached the hitherto unheard of total of almost 13,000,000 shares, when the tape machines ran four hours behind the market, when billions were lost in paper values and thousands of speculators unable to meet margin calls were sold out. Five days later over 16,000,000 shares changed hands in another selling bout.

The break did not come without warning. The peak of the great bull market was reached on September 3, 1929, and since then prices had been crumbling in extremely active trading. On Saturday, October 19, 3,500,000 shares had changed hands in the two-hour session, with losses of up to 20 points, and every day since the gyrations of the Stock Exchange had been front-page news in the New York *Times*. Some authorities were advising liquidation; others remained extremely optimistic. Stock prices, said Irving Fisher, the celebrated economist, on October 15, stood on "what looks like a permanently high plateau," and he expected to see the market go higher in the near future. "I see no reason for the end-of-the-year slump which some people are predicting," declared Charles E. Mitchell, president of the National City Bank of New York, four days later.

Up to this time both the big professional traders and the hundreds of thousands of amateurs who had been drawn into the market had been far more eager to listen to the prophets of perpetual prosperity than to counselors who urged caution. As stock prices climbed dizzily through 1928 and 1929, otherwise sober business men had begun to nurse the most fantastic illusions. Watching a stock like Radio Corporation common rising from 94½ to 505 (allowing for a five-for-one split-up) in eighteen months, although it paid no dividend, they saw the prospects of speculative profits as unlimited. Wall Street had become the broad highway to Eldorado.

With each leap in the market more suckers were encouraged to plunge. Stocks outdistanced prohibition as the conversational topic at social gatherings. The dentist gave his views on General Motors as he filled your teeth and probably interrupted the operation to call his broker: the haberdasher recommended Montgomery Ward as he sold you a tie. Much of the tremendous market activity was the result of sheer gambling. It was possible to buy $1,000 worth of stock for as little as $100 cash and, if its price rose 10 per cent or more, to use the paper profit as margin for a further purchase.

In the get-rich-quick rush many people became part-owners of concerns about which they knew little or nothing. They would not bother to look at balance sheets: they were buying on future prospects, not past earnings. Someone who knew somebody who lunched occasionally with a Morgan partner had said that XYZ, Inc. was good for a hundred-point rise. That was enough to inspire an order to buy at the market followed by dreams of early retirement on a comfortable fortune.

We shall never know how many such dreams of something for nothing were shattered when "Black Thursday" was followed by blacker Tuesday: nobody took a census of lost shirts. What is certain is that the market collapse provided a psychological shock to millions who were not directly affected. There was a loss of confidence in private enterprise that has never been fully recovered, a loss of respect for captains of industry and kings of finance, many of whom were exposed by subsequent investigations as mean manipulators of the market or even as authors of wholesale fraud. Above all there was an undermining of belief in the national myth that economic salvation was open to any individual who saved a little money and ventured it boldly. More and more, men sought a solution of the problem of security in collective action, through trade-union organization or by extension of the welfare powers of the state.

That, I believe, is one reason to expect greater economic stability in the next decade than we experienced in the inter-war period. With strong trade unions we are not likely to see the major share of the fruits of increased productivity absorbed by profits as it was in the twenties. Consequently there is less danger of over-stimulated investment leading to a lack of balance between the means of production and the possibilities of consumption. In addition, better provision for the unemployed and the aged has served to build a floor under the economy that should save us from the chain-reaction of depression which set in in 1929. I cannot believe that such changes afford proof of national degeneracy.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

A DEER IS FEEDING

A deer is feeding in the orchard grass;
A doe; with young ears, maybe, watching her
From the pine thicket southward; not to stir
Until she starts; and then the two will pass,
On amber ankles, delicate as glass,
Among great stones and trees, by dust and burr
Unbothered; or by me—oh, foreigner
Forever, and most terrible, alas.

See how she looks and fears me, all her skin
Atremble. But her eyes—I know them best,
From some that I saw dying once. Within,
How dark, without, how moist. What agony,
What dew of old despair, that even we
Who love them cannot ever burn to rest.

MARK VAN DOREN

ARCHITECTURE: THE HUMANISTIC VIEW

ARCHITECTURE AND THE SPIRIT OF MAN. By Joseph Hudnut. Harvard University Press. $4.50.

DEAN HUDNUT in these piercing yet gentle essays takes architecture away from the stylists, the propagandists, the technologists, the machine-worshipers, and gives it back to the people, to whom it rightly belongs. For he sees architecture not as technology and science, not as economics and sociology, but as an art and a profession using all those disciplines as tools for the better service and expression of the human spirit. It is not that he is unaware of the extraordinary architectural revolutions of the past few decades; it is rather that, deeply learned in the history of the past, he has been able to see —under the surface of style forms or building techniques—the great human purposes and emotions that made the surface what it was. This knowledge he applies, modestly and without a trace of pedantic arrogance, to the architecture of today.

The first part of his book deals chiefly with buildings by themselves—"architecture" as generally defined—and the second with buildings in communities, or community form itself, in other words with city planning. Both are equally readable and stimulating, but the second is especially inspiring today; for city planning is not only a rapidly expanding activity but also one in which there is the greatest danger of the scientists, the technologists, and the statisticians among them smothering the true purpose—the finding of an adequate, emotionally satisfying form for the environment of life today.

In the first section Hudnut takes several well-known American buildings or classes of buildings and with a humor that sometimes conceals—or perhaps increases?—its own relentless bite shows how unsatisfactory these historically nostalgic buildings are; the essays called The Last of the Romans (on the National Gallery) and The Gothick University are particularly pungent examples of his method and of his wit, like that of a mellower Voltaire. Only at one point is there field for disagreement—the discussion of the Washington Monument, which brings in an attack on the entire Classic Revival movement of a century and more ago. Here, perhaps, the author is judging the past by standards—those of today—that were then non-existent. Was not this turning to the elegance and grandeur of the ancient world for inspiration a perfect expression of the search for order—a *new* democratic order—which marked those days? Was it not the same feeling that set the academies flourishing on the New England hills or in the forests of Ohio and gave gracious form to harbor towns and to distant farmhouses? One other of the papers in this section deserves special comment—Love and Little Houses—as an example of the author's real democratic idealism, refusal to be caught by current clichés, and urbane wit.

The second part, on city planning, is full of common sense, imagination, and human understanding. More perhaps than the first, it is directed toward the architect and that vague class of sociologists, engineers, and landscape gardeners who call themselves city planners. If all of them could read and could understand The Invisible City and The Political Art of Planning, there would be fewer dead city plans buried in our libraries, and, in addition, we might hope for the gradual evolution of cities that were truly fit dwelling places not merely for physiological entities but for human minds and souls. Only by knowing people, only by realizing the dreams, half-unconscious, that lie behind their successes and their frustrations, can such a creative city planning come about.

To these papers Dean Hudnut brings a mind richly stored and a temperament sensitive and humane—twin gifts that have created for their expression a style that is deft, eloquent in its understatement, witty, and elegant. It is a delight to see the art of the essayist so charmingly reborn to serve and clarify another art.

TALBOT HAMLIN

Socialism, British Style

NO CAUSE FOR ALARM. By Virginia Cowles. Harper and Brothers. $3.75.

HERE is a book addressed particularly to those Americans who fear that Britain under its Labor government is rapidly rolling toward totalitarian perdition. The author, an experienced American newspaperwoman now married to a Labor M. P., tells them what has happened and why, and assures them they have "no cause for alarm." Indeed, so anxious is she to be soothing that she tends to understate the extent of the economic and social changes

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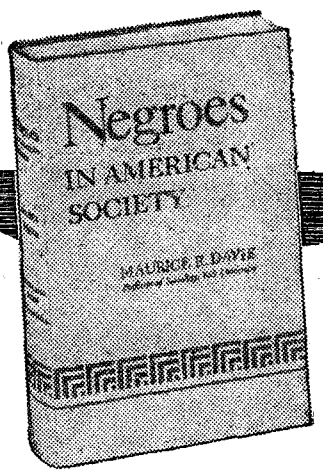

Here is the first book to evaluate and study the Negro problem of today in the light of historical background. In essence the book provides a general treatise on the status and role of the American Negro and of Negro-white relations. Professor Davie has included all relevant material on this subject and has analyzed the economic, educational, religious, social and political aspects of Negro life. A thorough and accurate presentation of the American Negro, that relates past and present backgrounds and trends to the immediate problems of today.

Negroes IN American Society

by MAURICE R. DAVIE

At all bookstores $6.00

WHITTLESEY HOUSE

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that have occurred since 1945. After reading her account of how comfortably the titled and well-to-do evade austerity some of her conservative readers may wonder what all the pother about high taxes is about. And I shall not be surprised to find the *Daily Worker* gleefully quoting her to support its denunciations of Attlee and company as "capitalist lackeys."

However, no one who knows England well will dispute Miss Cowles's main thesis: that British socialism is a peculiarly British product which has been gradually shaped by historical pressures. It is not, of course, a finished product but one which will be molded further by future events. Nevertheless, its essential characteristics cannot easily be destroyed. The Tories, should they return to power, may check the present Socialist trend, but they will not be able to reverse it, for they cannot ignore the desires of the workers who form a majority of the electorate.

In sketching the contemporary scene Miss Cowles is always conscious of the historical background. She understands that the keys to the many "baffling contradictions" of British life are "a sense of order" and "an emphasis on historical continuity." Thus in Britain socialism, a revolutionary idea, when filtered through the web of Parliamentary government has taken the form of "a compromise between the theoretical and the practical . . . subject to constant revision and modification by public opinion."

There are a number of inaccuracies in this book. Churchill rejoined the Tory Party in 1924 not in 1922; Morgan Phillips succeeded James Middleton as secretary of the Labor Party in 1944, not "just before the war"; the average pre-war weekly wage of industrial workers was not nearly so low as £2 a week. These are minor errors. More serious is the statement that the case for steel nationalization "could not be argued on any other grounds except doctrine"; it could and was by George Strauss, Minister of Supply, Sir Stafford Cripps, and others, as anyone who takes the trouble to read the Parliamentary debates on the subject can learn. Nor is it, I think, true to suggest that there has been "a marked lack of enthusiasm" among Labor M. P.'s for the steel-nationalization bill.

However, these indications of a right-wing standpoint do not detract from the value of this book, which provides a great deal of solid information spiced with a certain amount of amusing political gossip. It is well designed for shipboard reading, and I can recommend it to *Nation* readers as a perfect *bon voyage* gift to conservative friends setting out, a little fearfully, to explore the wilds of Socialist Britain.

KEITH HUTCHISON

California in 1849

ELDORADO, OR ADVENTURES IN THE PATH OF EMPIRE. By Bayard Taylor. Introduction by Robert Glass Cleland. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

THE SHIRLEY LETTERS FROM THE CALIFORNIA MINES, 1851-1852. Edited by Carl I. Wheat. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THE spate of California centenary books continues unabated. The two under review are the latest items in Knopf's Western Americana series, a reprinting of contemporary documents of the Far West that have not been easily available. Both are of considerable historical importance and not without literary interest. Bayard Taylor visited California in 1849 at the height of the gold boom. He saw Sacramento and Stockton, toured the diggings on the Mokelumne, was present at the constitutional convention at Monterey, watched San Francisco grow by leaps and bounds under his eyes, and made his way home by a traverse on foot of Mexico from Mazatlán to Guadalajara. It is easy to see from "Eldorado" why he was the most popular travel writer of his time, and the fact is a credit to his time, for Taylor's blend of personal adventure, romantic description, and informed, intelligent reporting has by no means wholly lost its sparkle.

Taylor was a transient visitor, however. The classic picture of the California gold frontier was the work of a participant. For a year and a half in 1851-52 Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clappe Fayette ("Dame Shirley") lived with her doctor husband at the diggings at Rich Bar, far up the canyon of the Feather River, and recorded the heyday and collapse of this typical mushroom mining settlement in a series of letters

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to her sister in New England. These letters—published a few years later in a San Francisco magazine—were called by Josiah Royce "the best account of an early mining camp known to me." Their contents also were freely drawn on, and sentimentalized in tone, by Bret Harte. An unsentimental if by no means an unfeeling observer, with a feminine eye for the details of living, "Dame Shirley" set down in serviceable, telling prose both the attractive and the seamy sides of the life whose hardships she took entertainingly in her stride—the pleasure to the eye of the mountain country and its flora, the makeshifts of housekeeping, the oddities and amenities of human nature, the techniques of gold working, the dreary rain spells, the drunkenness, the gambling, the violence and injustice of lynch law and anti-foreign feeling. The book does not rise above its subject—for, peace to its shades now being so multifariously evoked, the gold rush was only a minor episode of the American Western venture—but it is one of the factual documents of that venture that so far have on the whole made better reading than attempts to deal with it in more ambitious literary forms.

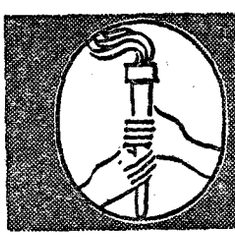
HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Books in Brief

THE PEOPLE SHALL JUDGE. Selected and Edited by the Staff, Social Sciences I, The College of the University of Chicago. University of Chicago Press. Vol. I. $4.50. A huge collection of original documents illuminating the formation of American policy on such controversial subjects as the Revolution, confederation, economic and labor problems, and slavery. Primarily for student use but containing much material of wide interest that has hitherto been inaccessible.

A TIME TO KEEP. By Peter Neagoë. Coward-McCann. $3. Reminiscences of a Transylvanian childhood. A nostalgic and quite charming picture of a kind of village paradise in which everyone is simple, pure, and good.

GIANT IN GRAY. By Manly Wade Wellman. Scribner's. $5. An excellent and voluminously documented biogra-



SELECTED FOR "NATION" READERS

HERE IS GOD'S PLENTY

REFLECTIONS ON AMERICAN SOCIAL ADVANCE

By *Mary K. Simkhovitch,* Founder of Greenwich House, N. Y. C. In this intimate autobiography, the dean of living social workers draws upon the significant lessons of her own life to illuminate the encouraging social progress she has witnessed, as well as the problems that still remain to be solved. "... a unique piece of Americana."—*Bryn J. Hovde,* President, The New School for Social Research. $2.50

KENTUCKY ON THE MARCH

By *Harry W. Schacter,* President, Committee for Kentucky. Foreword by *Mark F. Ethridge,* Publisher, Louisville "Courier Journal." Applauded by critics and public-spirited citizens throughout the nation, this moving, unpretentious story of how Kentucky woke up to its shortcomings and then did something about them, is "one of the most excellent stories of democracy at work that I have seen on record."—*Eleanor Roosevelt.* "I hope every American will read (it)."—*Vice President Alben W. Barkley.* $3.00

WORLD FAITH

THE STORY OF THE RELIGIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

By *Ruth Cranston.* "Those of us who believe in a world community and a world government, as the next step in man's development, know that it must rest, ultimately, on a common World Faith. Ruth Cranston's presentation of the dominant classic religions, in terms of what is common in their vision of life and their ethics, is a timely and effective contribution."—*Lewis Mumford.* $3.00

DAY OF JUDGMENT

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHALLENGE TO THE WEST

By *David Cushman Coyle.* A plea for sane, unbiased thinking about today's urgent public issues, this book ranks "among the most important of the season."—SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE. "... an intelligent, urbane approach to the world's most pressing problems in politics, economics, and human relations."—NATION. $3.00

DEMOCRACY IN JONESVILLE

A STUDY IN QUALITY AND INEQUALITY

By *W. Lloyd Warner,* Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, and *Associates.* "John P. Marquand might well have had this remarkably lucid manual of social anthropology in hand when he was setting down the story of Charles Gray in 'Point of No Return.' ... No intelligent American can read this book without gaining a fuller understanding of the cross-currents of social feeling that underlie our structure as a nation."—CHICAGO DAILY NEWS. $4.00

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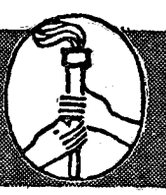

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phy of Wade Hampton of South Carolina, wealthy planter, Confederate general, governor, and United States senator. Of especial interest is the account of the Reconstruction period and the part played by Hampton in the overthrow of the carpet-baggers.

THE MEANING OF EVOLUTION. By George Gaylord Simpson. Yale. $3.75. A non-technical analysis of evolution and its relation to ethics. "Man," says the author, "plans and has purposes. Plan, purpose, goal, all absent in evolution to this point, enter with the coming of man and are inherent in the new evolution which is confined to him.... He must choose and he cannot place responsibility for rightness and wrongness on God or on nature."

LIFE AMONG THE DOCTORS. By Paul de Kruif. Harcourt, Brace. $4.75. *Reader's Digest* popularizations of some of the recent advances in medicine. Flamboyantly told in hero-worshiping terms by an author who believes that "at their best, medical men are the highest type yet reached by mankind."

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILL ROGERS. Selected and Edited by Donald Day. Houghton Mifflin. $3. A collection of Will Rogers's wisecracks and comments arranged in chronological order. There is some wit and considerable wisdom scattered through its pages, but as in all books of cracker-barrel philosophy the misses far outnumber the hits.

IT WAS LIKE THIS. By Anne Goodwin Winslow. Knopf. $2.50. A rather fragile story of two brothers on a Mississippi farm in the latter part of the nineteenth century, both in love with the same girl, who happens, incidentally, to be their adopted sister. The situation does not overwhelm one by its originality, nor does the author endow it with any particularly new potentialities. Readers who have enjoyed Mrs. Winslow's delicate prose in the past will doubtless do so again, but it is not very robust fare in any way, and the book serves quite ably to demonstrate the hazards of trying to write a Victorian romance in the mid-twentieth century.

QUEEN NEW ORLEANS. By Harnett T. Kane. Morrow. $5. A boisterous collection of New Orleans stories, legends, and colorful personalities with the accent on sex and sin.

Announcement

WE REGRET to announce that Clement Greenberg, whose informed and stimulating comment on art has been, for seven years, a regular feature of Books and the Arts, has resigned as art critic of *The Nation* in order to devote himself to other writing. Mr. Greenberg has established himself as one of the country's leading critics, and we are glad to say that he will continue to be a contributor—of occasional reviews and essays. *The Nation's* art column will henceforth be conducted by Weldon Kees, painter, poet, and critic, who has written on art for such publications as the *Magazine of Art* and *Partisan Review.* Mr. Kees will not only cover outstanding exhibits but also comment on news and trends in the world of art.—EDITORS THE NATION.

CURRENT ART EXHIBITS

WEEDON KEES
Recent Paintings
October 31 through November 26
PERIDOT GALLERY
6 East 12th Street, New York City

FRANCK
"Requiem" and other new paintings
through November 15
VAN DIEMEN-LILIENFELD GALLERIES
21 East 57th Street New York City

VAN GOGH: PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS
An international loan exhibition. *Admission 50¢, except Mondays.* Open Weds. and Sats. 10–9; Other weekdays 10–5; Sundays and holidays 1–5.
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Fifth Avenue at 82nd Street

IRVING AMEN: Foremost Social Realist
Color Woodcuts and Sculpture
Nov. 2 through Nov. 26
TRIBUNE SUBWAY GALLERY
100 West 42nd Street (IND Subway Arcade)

SERIGRAPHS for CHRISTMAS
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NATIONAL SERIGRAPH SOCIETY
38 West 57th Street Hrs. 10–6 exc. Sun.

MODERN ART IN YOUR LIFE. *Museum's 20th Anniversary show, to Dec. 4. Posters for Infantile Paralysis, popular ballots for $250 prize taken to Nov. 20. Japanese Children's Paintings since the war, to Nov. 27.*
MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 West 53rd Street

Art

WELDON KEES

THE work of the late Piet Mondrian, an excellent selection of which is now on view at the Sidney Janis Gallery (until November 12), has been dealt with in most quarters in lavish, bumbling, or partial ways. Like any extreme and profoundly original painter, Mondrian has invited precisely this kind of treatment. Numbers of his most admiring followers and disciples, for example, have seized on and isolated the canvases of his last years as ultimates both in the history of twentieth-century painting and in his own career; and it is these canvases that are also pointed to, with a weird mixture of pride and slightly sooty purism, as those that have created so unmistakable a dent in contemporary design, architecture, printing, interiors, linoleum, and so on. But this is a curious way of complimenting an artist.

The Janis show, much to its credit, releases the Dutch painter from this aesthetic type-casting by a rigorous and fresh attention to all phases of his career. Small though it is, it gives a clearer and wider notion of his work as a whole than did, I should say, the Museum of Modern Art's much larger Mondrian show in 1945. A majority of the twenty-nine paintings here have never before been shown in this country. Some of them are of considerable interest, not only on their own terms, but because they fail to confirm the currently fashionable notion that Mondrian's career was a succession of methodically calculated upward steps—something along the line of nineteenth-century progress at its rosiest.

Particularly in the 1912 and 1913 Cubist canvases—painted before his association with the de Stijl movement and his elimination of all curved lines from his work—in which wonderfully varied grays and mars yellows alternate, there are a fluidity and pulsation that have more in common with our nervous contemporary sensibility than the last canvases, however notable their successes, where "purity," the wall-like white ground, architectural concepts, flatly applied pigment of primary color,

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and ruler-edged bars of black have indeed succeeded in reaching "the logical consequences" of the Cubists' discoveries. Or have they? There are also "logical consequences," a variety of them, in the 1914-17 paintings—small black rectangles and modified cross-shapes scattered across a white or yellow ground—and in the "Composition 1914," with its arrangement of pastel cobblestone forms centered in a clearing mist. If there is a single impression to be carried away from the exhibition, it is the qualitative uniformity of a career ordinarily defined as largely significant for Mondrian's "major step," when he began his fierce concentration on the crossing of verticals and horizontals.

It should be late enough by now, in view of the diverse works that have developed from cubism, to question the entire imperativeness of the "logical consequences" line. There are as many "logical consequences," it can be seen, as there are sensibilities to deal with them; and there are methods as well that have little or nothing to do with "logic." Is a straight line more "logical" than a curved one? Works of art will continue, no doubt, to emerge from both "logical" and "illogical" attitudes, along with others that escape such channelings.

Meanwhile, Mondrian's influence has been, on the whole, more restrictive than liberating. It has produced a vocal group of disciples and imitators, but scarcely any who have gone on to something more than, in a sense, the anonymous. Once one accepts the idea, as the complete Mondrian follower has done, with a Calvinistic spirit rare among painters, that "the solution of Mondrian is the last accomplishment in the development of Western painting," only a vista of replicas and approximations emerges. Like Gertrude Stein's, Mondrian's effect—and I refer to the effect of his late work, not the work as a whole—points toward the hypnotic; his followers have glimpsed a mold rather than a suggestion. Hence their hostility to nature in any but the most limited sense, to the use of forms that signify or relate to anything but themselves, their lack of interest in texture and paint quality—scotch tape, in Mondrian's "Victory Boogie Woogie," served his purposes in some ways better than pigment—and, in their own work, a general sense of refrigeration. Mondrian, in his writings, is not too clear along these lines. "We come to see," he wrote, "that the principal problem in plastic art is not to avoid the representation of objects but to be as objective as possible." But the direction of most of the vital and original abstract work in recent years has moved away from Mondrian's views toward the exact opposite—toward the subjective and autonomous. From the ramparts of these opposing attitudes, two sizable armies of contemporary painters look out at each other with a marked lack of sympathy. The best of Mondrian, in this atmosphere, seems an accomplishment rather at a distance.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN THE Sadler's Wells ballet "Cinderella" we have Frederick Ashton's gifts for dance and comedy invention operating on a three-act scale, and operating again, nevertheless, with unforced projection, even in the passages of farcical miming: the second Ugly Sister, wrote Edwin Denby after the London première, "is the shyest, the happiest, most innocent of Monsters," who "wins everybody's heart," and who is played by Ashton himself "reticently, with the perfect timing, the apparently tentative gesture, the absorption and the sweetness of nature of a great clown."

Denby foresaw that this evenness of quiet tone might make the piece invisible to an American audience, and added

"I didn't think it could be done, but Dale Kramer has done it with taste and just the right amount of irreverence." —F.P.A.

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that he himself might have been less responsive to its "shy spell" if he hadn't seen it in an audience which had looked at it "discreetly, almost as one watches family theatricals." And in fact the explanation of the audience's attitude, as well as of certain features of the ballet itself— *e.g.*, the prominent presence of a Harlequin-Jester—became clear when Denby went to see another "Cinderella" at London's Palladium. "Watching my first Christmas Pantomime, with piping children around me and elders beaming at everything, with slapstick clowning Dames and Cinderella in the same costume as Moira Shearer . . . and with a Harlequin-descended Buttons . . . who 'placed' for me the Jester in Ashton's piece, I realized how many childhood echoes the ballet awakens in its public which a foreigner can't share. To the British public 'Cinderella' is not in a revived ballet form; as soon as the curtain goes up, the travesty Ugly Sisters at their sewing make everyone feel safe at home in the living Pantomime ritual the audience has known all its life."

However, even without this background the New York audience seemed to be delighted with the clowning of the Ugly Sisters played by Robert Helpmann and Ashton; with the fantastic and spectacular leaps and spins of the Jester, which I thought the most impressively imaginative dance invention of the piece, and which were brilliantly done by Alexander Grant; and even with the passages of classic dance—the solos of the four seasons, the pas de deux of Cinderella and the Prince—whose quietly ingenious and lovely details might have passed unnoticed by eyes that had seen Balanchine's dazzling achievements. In these passages Moira Shearer danced with secure elegance and Michael Somes contributed a princely handsomeness and manner, if not a brilliant agility.

A word, finally, about Prokofiev's sometimes sugary and most of the time acidulously sardonic and brashly vigorous music—that is, about its incongruity with what one saw on the stage.

As it happens, Columbia has just issued an album of excerpts from the Prokofiev score played by the Covent Garden Orchestra under Braithwaite and reproduced by the 78 r.p.m. records (MM-859, 3 12") with clarity but not warmth and luster.

The excellence of London's LP version of the Bartok Concerto is not attained by the additional London LP recordings I have listened to. I haven't heard the original 78 r.p.m. recordings from which they were dubbed; but considered by itself the sound produced by the LP record of Debussy's "Images" for orchestra (LLP-44, $5.95) is bright but extremely weak in bass and without solidity and the depth in space characteristic of FFRR recording. In addition there is a bad motor-rumble which is worse if one turns up the bass; the first G of flute and strings in the second movement of "Iberia" isn't reproduced; and if the soft passages of the movement are played softly enough the louder ones aren't loud enough. The solo oboe is coarse and sour at the beginning of the movement, and Ansermet's treatment of this atmospheric music is too matter-of-fact; but his performances of the other movements and the other two wonderful pieces, "Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps," are more satisfying.

Schuricht's straightforward performance of Beethoven's Fifth with the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra (LLP-7) is even less well reproduced: in the first movement the violins are strident and the sound explodes from excessively soft to excessively loud; after that the over-all sound is better, but in the second movement the bass is so weak that it can't be heard under the opening theme.

Worst reproduced is the worst performance—Kleiber's of Tchaikovsky's Fourth, with the same orchestra (LLP-2). For example, a sudden whipping up of speed in the second movement brings a shrill sound and a jumping of grooves; and elsewhere there are thuds, distortions from defective tracking and from explosions of sonority, and so on.

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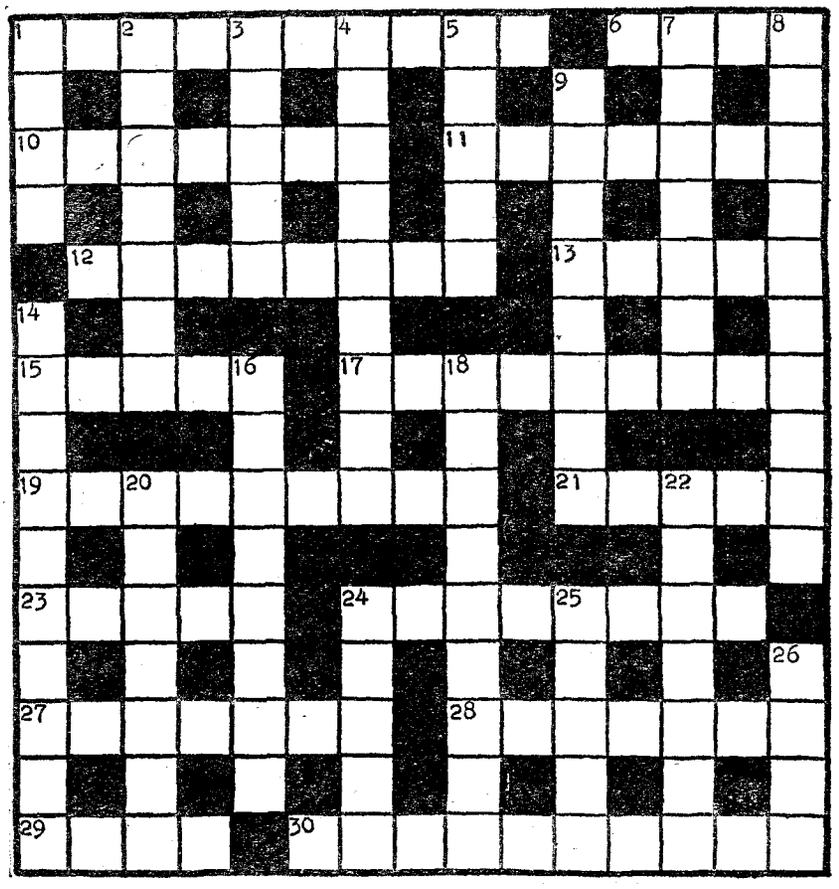
Crossword Puzzle No. 335

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 27.
6 Defile. (4)
10 Could be said of Joe Louis' hand or your foot. (7)
11 See 27.
12 One way of making tips. (8)
13 The remains of decapitated bears. (5)
15 Where pictures are made of an attack. (5)
17 See 26.
19 Read poetry aloud. (9)
21 See 27.
23 The extremes of the spectrum. (5)
24 Nothing comes before duty. (8)
27, 11, 21, 1 Anticlimax. (4, 3, 7, 2, 3, 10)
28 Shakespearian merchant, duke, and sea captain. (7)
29 Strike (violently) or stroke (hastily). (4)
30 A little more than burial, but still quite confining. (10)

DOWN

1 Industrial center of W. Europe. (4)
2 Talk is mostly flat and circular. (7)
3 Truly fit for a king. (5)
4 Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey. (4, 5)
5 Do it to a set-up for it. (5)
7 Lasting dwelling. (7)
8 Get a move on, gal! (10)
9 Seaman wandering (like the *Flying Dutchman?*) (8)
14 You claim South America has food? Conceded! (10)
16 If unaspirated, it would be a social creature, but rather boring. (As it is, it probably wouldn't set the world on fire!) (8)
18 I am in the molded entrance. (9)
20 Dart from North to South. (7)
22 Counter attack successfully. (7)
24 No place for a canoe! (5)
25 A saint might make this stuff. (5)
26, 17 Returns to a mail-order house? (4, 9)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 334

ACROSS:—1 SACRAMENTO; 10 HOLSTER; 11 ALIGNED; 12 COMPREHENSIBLE; 14 and 23 TOOTH AND NAIL; 15 BATAAN; 16 SQUABS; 18 DISTASTE; 22 COAL-TAR PRODUCT; 24 ABIDING; 25 SWIFTER; 26 LINT; 27 CELERY SEED.

DOWN:—1 SCHICK TEST; 2 COLOMBO; 3 and 6 AFTER THE BALL IS OVER; 4 EARTHEN; 5 TRAINS; 7 VANILLA; 8 RIDE; 9 CIVIL AUTHORITY; 13 INDENTURED; 17 UTOPIAN; 19 IMPASSE; 20 SHUTTLE; 21 TANGLE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

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